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ART. VII. — *Life and Letters of John Winthrop, from his Embarkation for New England in* 1630, *with the Charter and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, to his Death in* 1649. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 8vo. pp. xii. and 478.

WHEN the first volume of Mr. Winthrop's memoir of his distinguished ancestor was published, three years ago, we took occasion to express our high appreciation of his diligence and fidelity as a biographer, and to trace at some length the personal history of Governor Winthrop, from his birth to his embarkation for New England. In resuming our narrative at the point where it was interrupted in our previous article,* we have again to recognize, at the outset, the interest and importance of the documents recently discovered among the Winthrop papers, and to bear renewed testimony to the clearness and candor uniformly exhibited by Mr. Winthrop in recording the various incidents of the Governor's public and private life, and in discussing the vexed questions with which it was occasionally necessary to deal. If his new volume is of inferior interest to its predecessor, it is only because the new material brought forward is less striking and characteristic than that which was contained in his first volume, and because there was not much more to be learned about Governor Winthrop's life in New England. The Governor's own journal, with Mr. Savage's invaluable notes and appendices, had made that subject familiar to every student of our Colonial history. It is mainly from this source that Mr. Winthrop has drawn his materials; but he has neglected no known source of information, and in the body of his work, or in the Appendix, he has incorporated many letters and other documents hitherto unpublished, and of much historical interest.

It was on the 10th of April, 1630, that Winthrop and his little company, in the Arbella and her three consorts, passed the Lizard, and, entering the open sea, bade a last farewell to their native land. The voyage was long and tedious; and it

* N. A. Review, No. CCII. Art. VI.

was not until Saturday, the 12th of June, that the Governor's ship came to anchor in the mouth of Salem Harbor. Three weeks afterward, the Talbot, in which was his second son, Henry, also arrived at Salem; and on the very day of the landing of this youth, says an old family record, cited in the volume before us, "he and the principal officers of the ship, walking out to a place now called, by the Salemites, Northfield, to view the Indian wigwams, they saw on the other side of the river a small canoe. He would have had one of the company swim over and fetch it, rather than walk several miles on foot, it being very hot weather: but none of the party could swim but himself; and so he plunged in, and, as he was swimming over, was taken with the cramp a few roods from the shore, and drowned." The death of his son, who is described by Hubbard as "a sprightly and hopeful young gentleman," was a severe blow to Winthrop, in the midst of the cares and anxieties with which he was burdened. "We have met with many sad and discomfortable things, as thou shalt hear after; and the Lord's hand hath been heavy upon myself in some very near to me," he wrote in the first letter to his wife. "My son Henry! my son Henry! ah, poor child! Yet it grieves me much more for my poor daughter. The Lord strengthen and comfort her heart, to bear this cross patiently. I know thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distress. Yet, for all these things, (I praise my God,) I am not discouraged; nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those good days here which will make amends for all."

Previously to his arrival there had been, beside the successful venture at Plymouth, several attempts to form settlements within the present limits of Massachusetts; but nearly all of them had come to naught, and only one, that at Naumkeag, or Salem, had attained a healthy existence. At the beginning of 1630, it is supposed, the whole number of persons in the Colony was about three hundred, of whom two thirds were settled at Salem, and the rest at Charlestown. The chief magistrate of these little communities was John Endicott, who acted under the authority of a commission, issued to him in the previous year, as "Governor of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and who was subordi-

nate to the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." It will be seen, therefore, that Endicott possessed only a delegated authority, for the proper exercise of which he was responsible to a superior power residing in England. By the election of Winthrop as successor to Cradock in the government of the Company, and his subsequent removal to this country in accordance with the terms of the memorable agreement at Cambridge, the whole system was changed, and a vigorous impulse was given to the great work of colonization. Seven or eight hundred persons came over in the ships which accompanied him, when the chief government of the Company was transferred from England to America, or which followed immediately afterward as a part of the same expedition, beside two or three hundred who came in ships not belonging to the Company's fleet; and, at a little later period, another thousand were added to the population, as the direct fruit of the important change which had been introduced in the management of the Colonial affairs. "Henceforth," as our author remarks, "instead of two or three hundred pioneer planters, thinly scattered around the Bay, looking to a Governor and Company across the wide and wintry ocean for their authority and instructions, two or three thousand inhabitants are to be seen, with a Governor and Legislature upon their own soil, and of their own selection; erecting houses, building ships, laying out villages and towns, establishing churches, schools, and even a college; and laying broad and deep the foundations of an independent republic."

Winthrop and a large part of his associates first established themselves at Charlestown, where "a great house" had been built in the previous year; and here the first Court of Assistants was held, on the 23d of August. The first question discussed was, "How the ministers shall be maintained"; and it was ordered, "that houses be built for them, with convenient speed, at the public charge," and that fixed salaries be paid to them. Charlestown did not, however, possess the advantages which were desirable in a place for permanent residence, as the new settlers "could finde but one spring, and that not to be come at but when the tide was downe"; and accordingly they determined to remove across the river to a place called by the

Indians Shawmut, where, as they were told, there was an excellent spring. "Whereupon," say the Charlestown Records, "after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson, and the greatest part of the church removed thither: whither also the frame of the Governor's house, in preparation at this town, was also (to the discontent of some) carried; where people began to build their houses against winter; and this place was called Boston." The exact date of Winthrop's removal is unknown; but it was probably in October, four or five weeks after the passage of the order that the name should be changed to Boston.* The change of residence appears to have been a very satisfactory one; and in his first letter to his wife from his new home, the third or fourth written from America, he says: "We are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton etc., yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty." Nevertheless, the following winter was one of great hardship; and so early as the 5th of February, the Governor is described by Cotton Mather as distributing "the last handful of meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door." On that very day, however, the ship Lion arrived, having on board Roger Williams and about two hundred tons of goods, "all in good condition," says Winthrop's journal; and on the 22d a day of Thanksgiving was held, "by order from the Governour and Council, directed to all the plantations." This, as Winthrop's biographer remarks, must have been the first regularly appointed Massachusetts Thanksgiving; and probably no festival of the kind has ever been celebrated with more grateful hearts.

Meanwhile, the Governor's wife and eldest son, with the younger members of the family, remained in England, preparing for their embarkation as soon as the necessary arrangements could be completed.†

* Governor Winthrop's house was at the corner of Milk Street and Washington Street, near where the Old South Church now stands. The first two or three summers after his arrival were passed at Mistick; but afterward, it is believed, he resided wholly in Boston. Mistick, where he owned a farm known as the Ten Hills Farm, was within the present limits of Somerville, near Medford. It was here that the first vessel launched in Massachusetts was built.

† Beside the letters already printed in Mr. Savage's Appendix, Mr. Winthrop

While they were engaged in these preparations, the Governor's third son, Forth Winthrop, sickened and died. We know little of him, excepting from his own letters, several of which are printed for the first time in the volume before us; but he was evidently a young man of excellent promise, and warmly interested in the success of his father's undertaking. A letter from his cousin, Ursula Sherman, to whom he was engaged to be married, has also come down to our time, and is doubtless familiar to many of our readers. It shows that she was a woman in every way fitted to be the wife of such a man, and well merits the strong commendation which Mr. Savage bestowed on it in one of the notes to his edition of the History.* An undated letter from Margaret Winthrop, which was probably written in November or December, 1630, and is now printed for the first time, gives so graphic a picture of his last sickness, and is so characteristic of the writer, that we cannot refrain from citing it. It is addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., who was then in London.

"To my very loving sonne Mr. John Winthrop at Mr. Downings house in Fleete Streete neere the Conduit at the signe of the Bishop these deliver in London.

"LOVINGE SONNE, — I am sory I can not right to thee so cherefully as I should if God had not visited us with this stroke of my sonnes death. The thoughts of him doe so take up my minde, that I am not fit for other imployment. But it is the Lord that hath done it, & we must submit to his will. I did not expect the ende of his dayse had bine so neere; if I had I would have sent for you, to have taken your last leave of him. I thanke the Lord he dyed very comfortabley, and was all the time of his sicknes very well affected, and did use many good speaches to myselfe and others, that gave us assurance that he was the child of God, and that God had fitted him for himselfe. He told me the onely cause that he did desyre life for was that he mite gloryfy God, and spend those gifts which God had given him to better use then formerly he had done; with many promyses that if God did spare his life he would never folloe the vanytyes of this world. The

prints several characteristic letters from Mrs. Winthrop, John Winthrop the younger, and from other members of the family, which have never before been printed, and which are scarcely less interesting and suggestive than those contained in his first volume.

* "If our language can exhibit any letter of a female hand," are his words, "earlier in date than this, and more likely to be read with delight a thousand years after, it is not within my recollection."

day before he dyed he sayd that Sathan was busy with him to laye some sines to his charge; but the Lord gave him powre against him, so as he told me not many owres before his death, that his fayth was steadfast in God through Jesus Christ for his salvation.

"I will not saye any more of him at this tyme; the Lord give us grace to make good use of this afflicktion. I received thy loving letter by my brother Gostlinge and the things you sent this weeke, and I have nothinge but my thanks to returne to thee. I blesse God for the good nuse from N: E:. I send up Mr. Nuttalls bond by this bearer. My mother Clopton would entreate you that if you sell y^{or} brothers land hir cosin Hubbart may helpe you with a chapman for it, or if you let it he desyres to hire some part of it. I thinke longe to heare of my sister Downings recovery. I pray remember my love to them both, and all my cosins, and thus with my love and blessinge to thy selfe, desyringe the Lord to keepe thee, I rest

"Your assured lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROPE.

"This sad time hath made me I have not spoke with M^{r} Le, but I doe not forgette it, but will at convenient time know what he will doe."

It was several months after this letter was written that Mrs. Winthrop embarked for America with the rest of her children, except Deane, who remained in England to complete his education. The voyage was even longer than her husband's, and was saddened by the death at sea of an infant daughter, who was born after the Governor left home. Among the passengers was the saintly John Eliot; and it was with more than the wonted demonstrations of joy and gratitude that the newcomers were received. As the Governor's family went on shore, a salute was fired from the ship; and "at their landing," says the History, "the captains, with their companies, entertained them with a guard, and divers vollies of shot, and three drakes; and divers of the Assistants, and most of the people of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England." A week afterward, on the 11th of November, a day of thanksgiving was kept at Boston; and Governor Bradford of Plymouth speedily took occasion to pay a visit of con-

gratulation to his "much honored and beloved friend." So great was the Governor's personal popularity at that time, and so cordially did the whole community sympathize with his private happiness.

But Winthrop was soon to learn how little reliance can be placed on the popular favor; and so early as the following April, only a year and a half after his arrival, we find the evidence of a personal difference between the Governor and the Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley, which subsequently attained considerable importance, and enlisted numerous partisans. Nearly all that is now known about this early controversy is derived from Winthrop's own record; but it has been often and justly remarked, that his narrative has too many of the marks of candor and truthfulness to permit us to doubt its entire accuracy, or to suppose that the writer has, in any respect, failed to do justice to his opponents. It was natural, perhaps, that Dudley, who was a man of a strong will and many years older than the Governor, should be somewhat impatient under the inflexible administration of his superior; and that Winthrop, who felt the weight of heavy responsibility and saw how great was the effect of example, should freely express his disapprobation of everything which tended to weaken his authority or to breed discontent. The first public notice of the breach was the presentation to the Court, on the 3d of April, of a letter from Dudley resigning the offices of Deputy Governor and Assistant. The resignation was not accepted; and on the 1st of May a meeting was held at Winthrop's house in Boston to consider the subject. At this meeting hot words passed between the Governor and the Deputy Governor about a bargain which the latter had made with some poor members of the congregation, to whom he had agreed to sell seven bushels and a half of corn for ten bushels to be returned when the harvest was gathered. This the Governor and some others thought was oppressive, and an infraction of the law against usury; but Dudley maintained that it was lawful, and told the Governor "that, if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there; and that he never knew any man of understanding of other opinion; and that if the Governor thought otherwise of it, it was his weak-

ness." Exactly what Winthrop replied we are not informed; but afterward a question arose about the manner in which Dudley's house was built, the Governor having told him "that he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscotting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example, etc." This matter and the other points of difference, however, appear to have been satisfactorily adjusted for a time; and at a General Court in the following week, Winthrop and Dudley were both elected to their old offices.

The reconciliation did not last long; and in August, the Deputy Governor being still dissatisfied, a conference was held at Charlestown by several of the principal persons in the Colony, at which both parties were present. After the conference had been opened with prayer, Dudley began his complaints, alleging as his first grievance "a breach of promise, both in the Governor and others, in not building at Newtown." After a protracted discussion, the ministers withdrew for consultation, and on their return they delivered an opinion partially condemning the Governor, and at the same time admitting that there were some extenuating circumstances; whereupon Winthrop, "professing himself willing to submit his own opinion to the judgment of so many wise and godly friends, acknowledged himself faulty." The afternoon session opened in a very unpromising manner, as both parties were much exasperated. Almost at the outset, "the Deputy rose up in great fury and passion," the History tells us, "and the Governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness; but, by mediation of the mediators, they were soon pacified." Dudley then presented seven separate charges against Winthrop's administration of the public affairs, to each of which a satisfactory reply was given on the spot. No decision was pronounced at that time, and the conference broke up, after "commending the success of it by prayer to the Lord"; but subsequently the ministers ordered the Governor to procure a minister for Newtown, and to pay a portion of his salary; or, if he was not able to do this before the next spring, to give Dudley twenty pounds toward the expense which he had incurred in building there. About the same time Winthrop's daughter Mary was married

to Dudley's eldest son, and at a little later period a complete reconciliation was effected, — a reconciliation equally honorable to both parties.

At the election in May, 1634, a change was made in the office of Governor, and Dudley was chosen Winthrop's successor, apparently in deference to that principle of rotation in office of which we have heard so much in our time. Winthrop did not, however, retire from the public service, but was chosen one of the Board of Assistants, an office which he held for two years, until May, 1636, when he was chosen Deputy Governor. On his retirement from the chief-magistracy, a committee was appointed "to take an accompt of John Winthrop, Esq., for such commodities as he hath received of the common stock." The account which he rendered in pursuance of this order has come down to us, and is one of the most important and instructive documents of the period, both for the light which it throws on the character of our first Governor, and as an authentic picture of the actual condition of the Colony. By order of the Court, at its September session, this account was entered at length on the Colonial records, and it has been so often reprinted that it need not be inserted here. It is enough to say, that, whatever may have been the object in calling for an account, the statement which Winthrop presented is a full and conclusive vindication of his official conduct; and no one can read it without an increased feeling of respect for his character. The simple and heartfelt expression of his most cherished sentiments appears in these noble words at the end of his account: "In all these things I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the Court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this commonwealth; but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me."

A year after this account was rendered, several important persons joined the Colony. Of these the most distinguished was the younger Henry Vane, who soon afterward became one of Winthrop's most active rivals and opponents. Vane was at

that time only twenty-three; and, with the enthusiasm of youth and the zeal of an ardent temperament, he entered at once into all the petty jealousies and controversies of the new community. Admitted a member of the Boston church on the 1st of November, 1635, he speedily became one of the leaders of the party opposed to Winthrop, and so early as the following January he procured a meeting at Boston, ostensibly to bring about "a more firm and friendly uniting of minds, etc., especially of the said Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop, as those upon whom the weight of the affairs did lie." After a statement by Vane of the professed object of the meeting, Winthrop rose, and, expressing his surprise at what he had heard, solemnly declared "that he knew not of any breach between his brother Dudley and himself, since they were reconciled long since." Dudley followed with a similar declaration, "that for his part he came thither a mere patient, not with any intent to charge his brother Winthrop with anything; for though there had been formerly some differences and breaches between them, yet they had been healed, and for his part he was not willing to renew them again." The Governor, Haynes, then stated some grounds of objection to the policy pursued by Winthrop, as being remiss in point of justice. To this Winthrop replied with a memorable declaration, which is the key to his whole character and conduct, and which can never be cited without calling forth a new tribute to his wisdom and moderation. "It was his judgment," he said, "that in the infancy of plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because then people were more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits; but if it might be made clear to him that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a stricter course." On the conclusion of Winthrop's speech, the ministers were requested to consider the subject, and to report the next morning; which they accordingly did, to the effect, "that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honor and safety of the Gospel." Under the weight of this opinion Winthrop acknowledged himself convinced, and avowed his intention of being more strict in future;

and thereupon fifteen articles were drawn up as a basis of reconciliation. The first of the articles provided, "that there should be more strictness used in civil government and military discipline"; and the last declared, that "all contempts against the Court, or any of the Magistrates, should be specially noted and punished."

In reading these rules, and the record of the discussions which led to them, no one, we think, can fail to agree with Mr. Savage, that, "though several principles of sound policy were established, the general result of the conference must be regretted." Mr. Winthrop points out in the volume before us an incident which happened only seven days previously, and which affords an instructive commentary on the whole transaction. On the 11th of January, the Governor and Assistants had met at Boston to consider about the case of Roger Williams, and had determined to send Captain Underhill to Salem to arrest him, and carry him on board a ship then lying at Nantasket, and ready to sail for England. We do not learn from Winthrop's journal what was his opinion of this order; but as he had always maintained kindly relations with Williams up to this time, and was afterward in frequent and friendly correspondence with him, it is not improbable that the "difference in judgment" which Vane alleged as the occasion of this memorable conference may have been exhibited in the case of Williams.

However this may have been, Vane was on the flood-tide of popularity; and at the next election, May 25, 1636, he was chosen Governor, and Winthrop Deputy Governor. His administration, as Mr. Upham well says in his excellent "Life of Sir Henry Vane," was "brief, stormy, and perplexing," and will be ever memorable in our annals for the great Antinomian Controversy, in which both Vane and Winthrop took so prominent a part, and which exceeded in violence every other controversy of the kind mentioned in our history. It had its origin in the teaching and influence of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, perhaps the ablest woman then in America, who had brought with her from England two opinions which our fathers regarded as very dangerous heresies; namely, that the Holy Spirit dwells in the heart of the believer, and that sanctification is no evi-

dence of justification. Shortly after her arrival, she had opened at her own house a weekly meeting, at which she discussed the sermon preached on the last Sunday, or at the Thursday Lecture. As similar meetings had already been held in Boston, and as she was known to be a woman of great learning, rare intellectual acuteness, and a ready wit, she soon attracted a numerous audience, and at one time so many as eighty of the principal women of the town and the neighborhood attended her lecture. As her opinions were gradually unfolded, parties began to be formed, and sharp things to be said on the one side or the other. Foremost among her supporters were Vane, Cotton, and her kinsman, Wheelwright; on the other side were Winthrop, Wilson, and the other ministers of the Colony. From the "two dangerous errors," as Winthrop called them, were deduced many other opinions deemed of fatal tendency; but it can scarcely be doubted that Mrs. Hutchinson's most grievous error was the opinion which she was believed to entertain of the great body of the ministers. "Briefly," said Hugh Peters, when she was on trial before the Court, "she told me there was a wide and broad difference between our brother Mr. Cotton and ourselves. I desired to know the difference. She answered, that he preaches the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works, and that you are not able ministers of the New Testament, and know no more than the Apostles did before the resurrection of Christ."

The first mention of Mrs. Hutchinson's obnoxious opinions in Winthrop's journal is under date of October 21, 1636, a little more than two years after her arrival; and a few pages afterward we have an account of a discussion in the Boston church growing out of the desire of some of the members to have Wheelwright appointed a teacher there. In this discussion Vane, Winthrop, Cotton, and Wheelwright were the principal speakers; and so great was Winthrop's interest in the matter, that he not only addressed the church on the subject, but the next day he delivered a long argument before the congregation, and afterward "wrote his mind fully," and sent it to Cotton. As time passed on, the controversy waxed hotter, and new matters of dispute arose. But we need not enter into the details of a subject already amply discussed by others, and on

which no new light is thrown by the recently discovered papers of Winthrop.

It was, however, while this controversy was raging, that he wrote the record of his "Christian Experience," to which reference was made in our former article. The immediate occasion of its preparation, and the feelings under which it was composed, are sufficiently shown by the following extract from one of his memorandum-books, bearing date December, 1636, and apparently referring to the discussion about the call to Mr. Wheelwright: —

"1636, 10ber.] Upon some differences in o^r^ Churche about the waye of the Spirit of God in the worke of Justif: myselfe dissentinge from the reste of the brethren, I had occasion to examine mine owne estate, wherein the Lord wrought marveylously upon my heart, revivinge my former peace & consolatiō w^th^ muche increase & better assurance then formerly; & in the middest of it (for it continued many dayes) he did one tyme darte a beame of wrathe into my soule, w^ch^ strucke me to the heart, but then the Lord Jesus shewed himselfe & stood betweene that wrathe & my soule. Oh how sweet was Chr^t^ then to my soule. I thought I never prized him before, I am sure never more, nor ever felt more need of him. Then I kept him close to my heart & could not parte w^th^ him. Oh how my heart opened to let him in. Oh how was I ravished w^th^ his love! my prayers could breathe nothinge but Christ & Love & mercye, w^ch^ continued with meltinge & teares night & daye."

In this document, which covers eight pages and a half of the volume before us, and is composed in the peculiar phraseology of the period and of the religious body to which Winthrop belonged, we have a curious and instructive picture of his inner life from his childhood to his fiftieth birthday. As it has never before been printed, we are glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity to cite a few passages. It begins: —

"In my youth I was very lewdly disposed, inclining unto & attempting (so far as my yeares enabled mee) all kind of wickednesse, except swearing & scorning religion, which I had no temptation unto in regard of my education. About ten years of age, I had some notions of God, for in some great frighting or danger, I have prayed unto God, & found manifest answer; the remembrance whereof many years after, made mee think that God did love mee, but it made mee no whit the better: After I was 12 yeares old, I began to have some more savor of Relig-

ion, & I thought I had more understanding in Divinity than many of my yeares; for in reading of some good books, I conceived, that I did know divers of those points before, though I knew not how I should come by such knowledge, (but since I perceived it was out of some logicall principles, whereby out of some things I could conclude others,) yet I was still very wild, & dissolute, & as years came on, my lusts grew stronger, but yet under some restraint of my naturall reason; whereby I had the command of myself, that I could turne into any form. I would, as occasion required, write letters etc. of meer vanity; & if occasion were, I could write others of savoury & Godly counsell."

Of his youth and college life he gives an equally unfavorable account; but after his marriage there was a marked improvement.

"Now I began to come under strong exercises of conscience, (yet by fits only). I could no longer dally with religion. God put my soule to sad tasks sometimes, which yet the flesh would shake off, & outwear still. I had withal many sweet invitations, which I would willingly have entertained, but the flesh would not give up her interest. The merciful Lord would not thus bee answered, but notwithstanding all my stubbornnesse & unkind rejections of mercy, hee left me not till he had overcome my heart to give up itself to him, & to bid farewell to all the world, & until my heart could answer, 'Lord! what wilt thou have mee doe?'

"Now came I to some peace & comfort in God & in his wayes, my chief delight was therein. I loved a Christian & the very ground hee went upon. I honoured a faythful minister in my heart & could have kissed his feet: Now I grew full of zeal (which outranne my knowledge & carried mee sometimes beyond my calling), & very liberall to any good work. I had an unsatiable thirst after the word of God & could not misse a good sermon, though many miles off, especially of such as did search deep into the conscience. I had also a great striving in my heart to draw others to God. It pitied my heart to see men so little to regard their soules, & to despise that happiness which I knew to be better than all the world besides, which stirred mee up to take any opportunity to draw men to God, & by successe in my endeavors I took much encouragement hereunto. But these affections were not constant, but very unsettled. By these occasions I grew to bee of some note for religion (which did not a little puff mee up) & divers would come to mee for advice in cases of conscience;— & if I heard of any that were in trouble of mind I usually went to comfort them; so that upon the bent of my spirit this way & the success I

found of my endeavours, I gave up myself to the study of Divinity, & intended to enter into the ministry, if my friends had not diverted me."

But this calmness and peace of mind did not last. His inward struggles were again renewed, until at length he was brought to perceive "the difference between the covenant of grace and the covenant of works."

"I was now about 30 yrs of age, & now was the time come that the Lord would reveale Christ unto mee, whom I had long desired, but not so earnestly as since I came to see more clearly into the covenant of free grace. First therefore hee laid a sore affliction upon me wherein he laid me lower in myne own eyes than at any time before, & showed mee the emptiness of all my guifts & parts; left mee neither power nor will, so as I became as a weaned child. I could now no more look at what I had been or what I had done, nor be discontented for want of strength or assurance, mine eyes were only upon his free mercy in Jesus Christ. I knew I was worthy of nothing, for I knew I could do nothing for him or for myself. I could only mourn, & weep to think of free mercy to such a vile wretch as I was. Though I had no power to apply it yet I felt comfort in it. I did not long continue in this estate, but the good spirit of the Lord breathed upon my soule, & said I should live. Then every promise I thought upon held forth Christ unto me, saying, I am thy salvation. Now could my soul close with Christ, & rest there with sweet content, so ravished with his love, as I desired nothing, nor feared anything, but was filled with joy unspeakable & glorious, & with a spirit of adoption. Not that I could pray with more fervency or more enlargement of heart than sometimes before, but I could now cry, My Father, with more confidence. Meethought this condition & that frame of heart which I had after, was in respect of the former like the reign of Solomon, free, peaceable, prosperous, & glorious, the other, more like that of Ahaz, full of troubles, fears & abasements. And the more I grew thus acquainted with the spirit of God, the more were my corruptions mortifyed & the new man quickened. The world, the flesh, & Satan, were for a time silent, I heard not of them: but they would not leave mee so. This Estate lasted a good time, (divers months,) but not always alike, but if my comfort & joy slackened awhile, yet my peace continued, & it would returne with advantage. I was now growne familiar with the Lord Jesus Christ, he would oft tell mee he loved mee. I did not doubt to believe him. If I went abroad, he went with me, when I returned, he came home with mee. I talked with him upon the way, he lay down with me, & usually I did awake with him. Now I could go into any

company & not lose him: &, so sweet was his love to me, as I desired nothing but him in Heaven or Earth."

From this state also there was a gradual decline; and then came "continuall conflicts between the flesh & the Spirit, & sometimes with Satan himself, (which I have more discerned of late than I did formerly); many falls I have had, & have lyen long under some, yet never quite forsaken of the Lord." He ends by a reference to the recent controversies in the Boston church, to which he ascribes a fresh awakening of his conscience, and which opened a new era in his religious life.

"The Doctrine of free justification, lately taught here, took me in as drowsy a condition, as I had been in (to my remembrance) these twenty years, & brought me as low (in my own apprehension) as if the whole work had been to begin anew. But when the voice of Peace came, I knew it to be the same that I had been acquainted with before, though it did not speak so loud nor in that measure of joy that I had felt sometimes. Only this I found, that I had defiled the white garments of the Lord Jesus. That of justification in undervaluing the riches of the Lord Jesus Christ & his free grace, & setting up Idols in mine own heart, some of them made of his silver, & of his gold; & that other garment of sanctification by many foul spots which God's people might take notice of, & yet the inward spots were fouler than those.

"The Lord Jesus who (of his own free grace) hath washed my soul in the blood of the everlasting covenant, wash away all those spots also in his good time.

"Amen, even so doe, Lord Jesus.

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"The 12th of the 11th month, 1636.
in the 49th year of my age just compleat."

These extracts show how thorough were Winthrop's habits of self-examination, and that he did not enter on this memorable controversy without an adequate understanding of the points at issue. There are many persons at the present day who are inclined to condemn the course pursued by the Magistrates and ministers in dealing with Mrs. Hutchinson; but no one can doubt the depth and sincerity of Winthrop's convictions, and if it be thought that he sometimes passed the limits of that moderation and impartiality which it was his duty to observe, yet it must be admitted that his conduct at her trial was in honorable contrast with that of most of his associates.

In this great controversy, Governor Vane and the party of Mrs. Hutchinson were warmly sustained by a large majority of the Boston church, while Winthrop and his friends had their chief support in the country towns; and so fiercely did the controversy rage, that it was determined in March that the next Court of Elections should be held at Newtown, instead of Boston, which had been regarded heretofore as the best place for such purposes. Accordingly, on the 17th of May, 1637, the Court was held at Newtown; and, after a considerable wrangling over a petition from Boston for the revocation of the sentence of the General Court against Mr. Wheelwright, Winthrop was chosen Governor, Dudley Deputy Governor, and "Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Dummer (being all of that faction) were left quite out."

It was on this exciting and memorable occasion that one of our Boston ministers, Wilson, made the first "stump speech" of which there is any account in American history; for Hutchinson tells us, that in his zeal "he got up on the bough of a tree (it was hot weather, and the election, like that of Parliament men for the counties in England, was carried on in the field), and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their Charter, and to consider the present work of the day."

It was probably while absent from home in the midst of these political agitations and conflicts that Winthrop wrote the following characteristic letter to his wife, which is among the hitherto unpublished letters in the volume before us: —

"ffor Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

"DEARE [*torn*], — I am still detayned from thee, but it is by the Lord, who hath a greater interest in me than thy selfe, when his worke is donne he will restore me to thee againe to o^{r} mutuall comfort: Amen. I thanke thee for thy sweet Lre: my heart was wth thee to have written to thee everye daye, but businesse would not permitt me. I suppose thou hearest much newes from hence: it may be, some grievous to thee: but be not troubled, I assure thee thinges goe well, & they must needs doe so, for God is wth us & thou shalt see a happy issue. I hope to be wth thee to morrowe & a frende or 2: I suppose. So I kisse my sweet wife & rest

"Thine "JO: WINTHROP.

"This 6: daye."

Shortly afterward he became involved in a new controversy with Vane, in consequence of the publication of a Defence of the Order of the Court "that none should be received to inhabite within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates." In this remarkable document Winthrop gave a clear though brief statement of his views as to the fundamental rights on which the commonwealth was based, maintaining that, "if we heere be a corporation established by free consent, if the place of our cohabitation be our owne, then no man hath right to come into us, &c. without our consent," that "if no man hath right to our lands, our government, priviledges, &c. but by our consent, then it is reason we should take notice of them before we conferre any such upon them," and "if we are bound to keep off whatsoever appears to tend to our ruine or damage, then may we lawfully refuse to receive such whose dispositions suite not with ours and whose society (we know) will be hurtfull to us." To this statement Vane replied at considerable length, denying Winthrop's premises, and asserting that the Massachusetts law was "most wicked and sinful." Winthrop's answer was of even greater length, but added no new arguments of importance; and not long afterward Vane returned to England, to gain there a more honorable record than he had left in America.

The departure of Vane produced no lull in the greater controversy about the covenant of grace and the covenant of works; and two months afterward, in November, 1637, it reached its culmination in the trial and banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson, and the disfranchisement or disarming of her principal adherents, to the number of about seventy persons. A pretty full report of her trial has come down to us, and is printed in the Appendix to the second volume of Governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Winthrop presided, and took a prominent part in the investigation. His course must be pronounced moderate, if we compare it with the flaming zeal of Hugh Peters and Deputy-Governor Dudley. The trial lasted two days, and ended in the only way in which it was possible, under the circumstances, for it to end, — in a sentence which is thus recorded in our Colony Records: — "Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convicted for traducing the

ministers and their ministry in this country, she declared voluntarily her revelations for her ground, and that she should be delivered, and the Court ruined with their posterity, and thereupon was banished, and the mean while was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld until the Court shall dispose of her." Only two members of the Court, William Coddington and William Colburn, both of Boston, voted against this sentence; and one other, William Jennison, a Deputy from Ipswich, declined to vote on either side, offering to give his reasons for this refusal.*

Though Winthrop's course had been marked by far greater moderation than was exhibited by many of the members of the Court, he did not escape censure from a considerable party in the Boston church, who "were earnest with the elders to have him called to account for it." On hearing of this purpose he took an early opportunity to address the congregation, partly in vindication of his own conduct, but mainly in denial of the pretended right of the church to call the Magistrates to account for acts done by them in their official capacity; and at the same time he wrote an elaborate and well-reasoned essay to prove "that a Church hath not power to call any Civill Magistrate to give Account of his Juditiall proceedings in any Court of Civill Justice; and what the Church may doe in such Causes." A letter of friendly rebuke to Coddington and others who had signed the remonstrance against the acts of the Court was the last document which Winthrop prepared in connection with this painful controversy; and it is pleasant to turn from the records of these fierce contentions to a hitherto unpublished letter from Winthrop to his wife, which was written early in this very session of the Court.

* Though the course pursued by the Court in dealing with Mrs. Hutchinson cannot be in all respects defended, it must be conceded that Winthrop and many of his associates were actuated by a stern sense of duty, and that her conduct had been such as to justify, if it did not demand, exemplary punishment. It is certain that the continuance of her lecture was a standing peril to the new commonwealth, and that the Magistrates had a perfect right to abate it as a public nuisance; but her theological opinions and "revelations" were matters which hardly fell legitimately under their cognizance. The considerations which may be urged in defence of the Magistrates are stated with great clearness and force in the learned and eloquent pages of Dr. Palfrey's "History of New England."

" ffor Mrs. Winthrop at her house in Boston.

" SWEET HEART, — I was unwillingly hinderd from cōminge to thee, nor am I like to see thee before the last daye of this weeke: therefore I shall want a band or 2: & cuffes. I pray thee also send me 6: or 7: leaves of Tobacco dried & powdred. Have care of thy selfe this colde weather, & speak to the folkes to keepe the goates well out of the Garden; & if my brother Peter hath not fetched away the sheep ramme, let them looke him up & give him meate, the green pease in the Garden &c are good for him: If any lettres be come for me send them by this bearer. I will trouble thee no further, the Lorde blesse & keepe thee my sweet wife & all o.r familye: & send us a comfortable meetinge, so I kisse thee & love thee ever & rest

" Thy faithfull husband, " JO: WINTHROP.

" This 6th of the 9th, 1637."

The next subject of importance which claimed Winthrop's attention was an imperative order issued by the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, and directed to him, or to any other person in whose custody the patent might be, commanding him to send over to England the charter under which the government was then administered. On receiving this order he consulted the General Court, and it was very wisely decided that " a letter should be written by the Governor, in the name of the Court, to excuse our not sending of it; for it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered; and thereupon we should be bound to receive such a Governor, and such orders as should be sent to us." The letter which he wrote in accordance with this decision was a frank and manly statement of the evils likely to arise from a compliance with this order, without a hearing on the charges presented against the Colony, and an humble petition that they might still be allowed to live under the protection they had hitherto enjoyed. Some further attempts were made to resume the charter, but the growing troubles in England prevented any energetic action for this purpose; and the venerable parchment which Winthrop's policy had preserved still remains in the archives of the Commonwealth.

Passing over the next four years, which are chiefly memorable in Winthrop's history for the almost total loss of his prop-

erty in England, we come to one of the most famous controversies in our early history, — the protracted dispute about "the stray sow and the negative voice." The story in brief is as follows. Captain Keayne, who was somewhat notorious in the early annals of Boston for his sharp practices in trade, had found a stray sow. Like a good citizen he caused it to be cried several times, without discovering the owner; but about a year or more afterward it was claimed by the wife of Richard Sherman, who had lost such an animal. The matter was accordingly brought before the elders of the church, who acquitted Captain Keayne. Not satisfied with this decision, Mrs. Sherman next commenced an action against the Captain in the inferior court of Boston, where he was again cleared, and the jury awarded him three pounds for his costs. Thereupon he commenced an action for slander against Mrs. Sherman and one Story, with whom she lived "in a suspicious way" during her husband's absence in England, and recovered damages to the amount of twenty pounds from each of them. Smarting under this penalty, Story next brought the subject before the General Court by a petition in Sherman's name to have the cause heard again, which was granted; "and the best part of seven days," says Winthrop in his journal, "were spent in examining of witnesses and debating of the cause; and yet it was not determined, for there being nine Magistrates and thirty Deputies, no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two Magistrates and fifteen Deputies, and for the defendant seven Magistrates and eight Deputies. The other seven Deputies stood doubtful." This result created great dissatisfaction; and as Keayne was in very ill repute in the community, the opposite party did not scruple to cast grave aspersions on the Court, and especially the Magistrates, asserting "that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these Magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away."

The dispute which grew out of this petty affair had now assumed gigantic proportions, and, as Mr. Savage says in his Genealogical Dictionary, "shook the Colony that year and the next to its foundations." Impressed with the gravity of

the circumstances, Winthrop drew up and published a "breviate" of the case, designed to show what were the real facts, and to vindicate the course pursued by the Magistrates. This paper did not, however, produce the desired effect; and it was not until another year had passed, and several additional tracts had been published on the one side or the other, that the subject was finally set at rest in March, 1644, six or seven years after the beginning of the strife, by the adoption of an order of the General Court to the effect that in future the Magistrates and Deputies should sit and deliberate as separate bodies, that each body should have the right to originate all laws, and that no measure should be adopted without the concurrent action of both. "This order," says Winthrop in his journal, "determined the great contention about the negative voice," and laid the foundation, we may add, of that system of two co-ordinate branches in one legislative body, which has been one of the main safeguards of American liberty.

During a considerable part of the period covered by this memorable controversy, John Winthrop, Jr. was in England, whither he had gone in August, 1641, to congratulate the Parliament on its recent successes, and to satisfy the creditors of the Colony about the causes of the delay in the payment of the debts due in England. While he was abroad his mother wrote to him the following letter, — charming in its spirit and simplicity, — which is the last production of her pen that has come down to us.

"To my good Sonne Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., in London.

"Loving Sonne, — Your long abcence gives me opertunytye of manyfestinge my love to you, w^{ch} I have too much neglected by the former shippes, expectinge yo^{r} desyred presence longe before this time; but we must wayt still, till God see good to let us enjoy you. I have sent my sonne Stephen to despach some businesse w^{ch} he wil acquaint you with, and I hope we shall, in God's time, see you both to our comfort. Your wife thinkes longe for your cominge, yet it pleseth God to help hir to beare it prety cherfully; hir little boye is so mery that it puteth away many a sad thought from his mother. When I thinke of the trublesome times and manyfolde destractions that are in our native Contrye I thinke we doe not pryse our happinesse heare as we have cause, that we should be in peace when so many troubles are in most

places of the world. I wish we ware more sensible of the calamityes of others that we myte crye the more mytylye to God for them. I have no ocasion of businese to troble you with; I received a box with some aparel, and I doe thanke you for your care. My brother rote me word he woulde paye for them, I pray let Mr. Sm[ith] send him his bill, if he have not; and thus desyringe the Lord to preserve you in these perylous tymes, I commend my best affections to you & rest,

"Your loving mother

"Boston, 8^{ber} 10: 1642." "MAR: WINTHROP.

In May, 1643, Winthrop was chosen Governor for the ninth time, and in the course of the same year he took an influential part in forming that old New England Confederation, which has been justly described as the pattern for all the unions or confederations since established on this continent. A little while afterward the infant commonwealth was greatly scandalized by the kindly reception accorded by Winthrop and his fellow Magistrates to La Tour, a Frenchman and a Catholic, who had arrived at Boston, and asked their assistance in the further prosecution of his voyage, which had been hindered by D'Aulnay, his old rival and enemy. Like so many other subjects of contention in those early days, this matter created a lively commotion throughout the Colony, and Winthrop's ready pen and voice found sufficient employment in defending the course which it had been thought best to adopt. To the first acts of the Magistrates, indeed, there was really no well-founded objection; but their subsequent proceedings undoubtedly involved a violation of the neutrality of the Colony, and were productive of serious difficulties. It was partly owing, perhaps, to this controversy, and partly to the discussions of the next year, that Winthrop was induced to prepare and publish an essay on the nature of government, in which he set forth his own political views and principles at length. The original draft of this document is among the papers discovered at New London, and is printed in full in the Appendix to the volume before us. It is too long for citation here; but it will well repay a careful examination by every one who would understand the principles on which the Massachusetts Colony was founded, and by which Winthrop himself was uniformly guided. It did not, however, escape severe criticism at the time, and some of Winthrop's opponents

having obtained a copy, a committee of the Deputies was appointed to examine it. This committee reported that several parts of it were "pernicious and dangerous," and their report was then sent up to the Magistrates for their assent; but it does not appear that any action was taken on the subject, and it is probable that the matter was suffered to drop.

At any rate, its importance was speedily overshadowed by the commotion which grew out of the double election of a train-band captain at Hingham, and which led to what has sometimes been called the impeachment of Winthrop. In the discharge of his official duties he had committed to jail two of the most violent of the Hingham men, "for speaking untruths of the Magistrates in church," and thereupon the aggrieved parties petitioned the General Court for a hearing, alleging that some of them had been bound over, and others imprisoned by some of the Magistrates, "for words spoken concerning the power of the General Court, and their liberties, and the liberties of the church." The Deputies granted the petition, and sent up a vote to that effect to the Magistrates, who "returned answer that they were willing the cause should be heard, so as the petitioners would name the Magistrates whom they intended, and the matters they would lay to their charge, etc." Winthrop was accordingly singled out, and two of the petitioners undertook to conduct the prosecution. At first the Magistrates demurred to the trial, from a fear that it might be prejudicial to the authority and reputation of the Court; but Winthrop was desirous that there should be a public hearing, "knowing well," he says, "how much himself and the other Magistrates did suffer in the cause, through the slanderous reports wherewith the Deputies and the country about had been possessed." On the appointed day the Court assembled in the meeting-house in Boston, a great crowd being present. When Winthrop came in with the other Magistrates, instead of taking his seat on the bench, he "placed himself beneath within the bar, and sat uncovered." After the petitioners had stated their grievances, he rose, and, pointing out the irregularity of the proceedings, avowed his willingness "to make answer to the particular charges, to the end that the truth of the case and of all proceedings thereupon might appear." The examination was then

opened, and was continued for nearly two months, with only a week's intermission. At length the Magistrates voted, — "1. That the petition was false and scandalous; 2. That those that were bound over, &c., and others that were parties to the disturbance at Hingham, were all offenders, though in different degrees; 3. That they and the petitioners were to be censured; 4. That the Deputy Governor ought to be acquit and righted." The Deputies were willing to accede to each of these propositions excepting the third, with which they would not concur; and finally the matter was adjusted by a mutual agreement that the Deputy Governor should be "legally and publicly acquit of all that was laid to his charge," and that "the chief petitioners and the rest of the offenders" should be severally fined and assessed for the costs of the Court. Accordingly, on the 3d of July, "after the lecture, the Magistrates and Deputies took their places in the meeting-house, and the people being come together, and the Deputy Governor placing himself within the bar, as at the time of the hearing, etc., the Governor read the sentence of the Court, without speaking any more, for the Deputies had (by importunity) obtained a promise of silence from the Magistrates. Then was the Deputy Governor desired by the Court to go up and take his place again upon the bench, which he did accordingly, and the Court being about to arise, he desired leave for a little speech."

The speech which he then delivered was alike worthy of the place and of the occasion, and exhibited throughout the characteristic magnanimity of the speaker. He began by saying that he did not intend to reopen the inquiry which had just been closed, or to speak of any of the persons concerned in it, while he blessed God that there was at length an end of it. "I also acknowledge the justice of the Court," he added, "and, for mine own part, I am well satisfied I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire." This was enough for his justification before men, but not enough for his justification before God, and he had abundant reason to be humble; "for to be publicly and criminally charged in this Court is matter of humiliation, (and I desire to make a right use of it,) notwithstanding I be thus

acquitted." He then proceeded to speak on the great questions which had agitated the country in regard to the authority of the Magistrates and the liberty of the people; and he reminded his audience, "It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill." Next he spoke of the twofold liberty which men enjoy, natural and civil or moral, pointing out the difference between the two kinds, and telling them that the latter kind "is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be." And he concluded by drawing some practical lessons from the principles which he had thus laid down.

The decision of the Court was confirmed by the popular voice, and at the next election Winthrop was again chosen Governor, which office he continued to hold until his death, about three years afterward. These years were not among the least eventful in Winthrop's life, but we must pass rapidly over the incidents by which their course was marked. On the 14th of June, 1647, he experienced the heaviest loss which had yet befallen him, in the sudden death of his admirable wife, whose virtues must ever insure for her a foremost place among the women of America. Her husband records her death in his journal in the following simple and impressive words: "14, (4.) In this sickness the Governor's wife, daughter of Sir John Tindal, Knight, left this world for a better, being about fifty-six years of age: a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety, and specially beloved and honored of all the country." Our readers will not be sorry to see also a letter written by her son, Stephen Winthrop, immediately after he had heard of her death. The letter is dated from Reigate, in England, whither he had returned the year before.

"To his much honored ffather Jo: Winthrop Esq., Governor of ye Massachusetts these in New: England.

"Sr, — I received yours by my wife who (through God his goodnes) is safly arrived heere wth her litle ones, for all wch mercy I desire I may be found answerably thankfull: We heard before of my Deare Mothers departure; wch was very sad tidings to me: & my losse was as much in it, as any Sonnes could be in a Mother: but I know God calls me to submission: & to drawe more nearer to himselfe: whose providence over us is instead of all relations: or interest in him beinge only durable, ye consideration whereof quiets my spirit: & yt wch accompanied this sadd tidings, (as if this had not beene more than nature could have submitted quietly unto) was ye relation of yor owne sadd & dangerous Sickness; but seeing it pleased God yet to continue you to us, I shall say no more of yt: but rejoyce in Gods mercy & admire his Wisdome in yt he afflicteth not but by measure, & will not lay more upon us then we are able to beare. Sir, it saddens me when I thinke of ye remotenes from you, & ye rest of my ffrends wth you, & I question not but providence will so worke yt I may see yor fface againe: though I see a cleere providence likewise at present in my stay heere, & I find God ownes me in my Imploymt: but my thoughts worke much toward N: E: & if I see a call of God I shall be very ready to obay it. This Kingdome is in a very unsettled condition, & it is wonder all falls not in peices in one day: but at prsent I cannot give you so particular an acct of it as I would because some occation hinders me from being at London this six weeks: & ye Shipp I understand is goeing: for wch reason I shall write to fewe; nor about any buisnes, but desire you to remembr me to all or ffrends, & so earnestly beggeing yor prayers & blessings I rest

"Sir, Yor most Obeedient
"Sonne,
"Steph: Winthrop.

"Rigat: 2 March 47.

"Sir, — I thancke you for my Mother's Ring & Bible you were pleased to send me; my wife is at ye Downes wth hir brother at this time, I suppose she will prsent hir Duty to you in a Letter hir selfe, ye shipp goeing yt way."

Winthrop's grief was profound and sincere; but he found it impossible to live long alone, and in the following December he married for his fourth wife Martha, a sister of Increase Nowell, and widow of Thomas Coytmore of Charlestown. He did not,

however, long enjoy the society of his new wife. Early in February, 1649, he caught a severe cold, which brought on a fever and cough, and for more than a month he was confined to his bed. As he grew weaker he seems to have become aware that his sickness was likely to prove fatal, and about the middle of March his son John Winthrop, Jr. was sent for, but he did not reach home until after the Governor's death. That event occurred on the 26th of March, 1649, and information of it was immediately communicated to the younger Winthrop in a letter written by Wilson, in a tone of mingled love and admiration for the late Governor, and signed also by Bellingham, Cotton, and John Clark. The funeral took place eight days afterward, and is said by Morton, in the "New England's Memorial," to have been conducted "with great solemnity and honor." He was buried in a tomb in King's Chapel burial-ground; and in the same tomb were afterward laid the mortal remains of his honored son, John Winthrop, Jr., and of two grandsons, Fitz-John Winthrop and Wait Still Winthrop.

"Nineteen years intervened between Winthrop's landing at Salem and his death," says his biographer. "During that period, he had seen the Boston, which he founded, grow to be a thriving and prosperous capital; and the state, of which he brought over the charter, extended by successive settlements over a wide territory, and represented, in its little legislature, by deputies from nearly thirty separate towns. Other colonies had planted themselves around Massachusetts, and a New England Confederation had been formed under his auspices. Free schools had been established, and a college incorporated and organized. Above all, religion had taken deep root in all the settlements; and churches were gathered wherever there was an adequate population. Few persons have lived in these later ages who could have appropriated to themselves more justly than John Winthrop could have done the lines of the old Roman poet, which may have been familiar to him in the schools, —

> 'Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi:
> Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
> Urbem præclaram statui; mea mœnia vidi.'

"But, while he labored so long and so faithfully for the welfare of his fellow-men, he looked higher than to any self-applause, or any human applause, for his reward. Though he spent his strength and his sub-

stance in building up a city and a state of earthly habitations, — sparing nothing for his family, and leaving but a single hundred pounds, out of his whole estate, to be the subject of an inventory at his death, — he was ever looking forward to a 'city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.'"

In reviewing the life of Governor Winthrop, and attempting to estimate his character as it is exhibited to us in his public acts and his private correspondence, it is impossible not to recognize the elements of true greatness. Probably he was not a man of great intellectual force or originality of thought, as he was certainly not superior to several of his associates in learning and culture; but in the combination of qualities essential to the success of such an enterprise as that at the head of which he was placed, he surpassed them all. Like most of the men by whom he was accompanied, he was a person of deep religious principles and convictions; but in his religion there was nothing of narrowness or bitterness, and he was singularly free from those unamiable characteristics which in the next generation began to show themselves on our soil. He was firm and decided in his opinions, but those opinions were not extreme; and though he took part in all the religious controversies of the day, he is generally entitled to the praise of moderation. That he sometimes erred on the side of severity is doubtless true; but he is more often charged by his contemporaries with a too great lenity toward offenders. Justice and generosity, indeed, were happily blended in his character; and the well-known anecdote of the poor fellow who helped himself from the Governor's wood-pile is only one illustration of his natural bent.

To the depth and firmness of his religious convictions, tempered as they were by a natural moderation and generosity, he joined a moral purity and an integrity in his dealings with his associates and with the public which were above reproach. No breath of suspicion ever rested on his private life; and no public servant ever exhibited cleaner hands than did Winthrop when he was called on to render an account of the money which he had received and disbursed for the infant Colony. He was a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a steadfast friend, through all the vicissitudes of a long and checkered life. Mod-

erate in his opinions, he was not less temperate in his habits; and his own table afforded a fit example of wise economy without parsimony, while he never failed to exercise that hospitality which was incumbent on the first magistrate of a growing community. At the same time it was often necessary for him to draw on his private resources to defray the ordinary expenses of the government, and to neglect his own interests in a watchful regard for the general welfare. After a long and successful administration of our public affairs, he died a poor man.

These qualities lay at the very root of his character, and without them no one could have placed so broad and deep the foundations of such a commonwealth as our forefathers sought to establish here. They were united, however, with an organizing and executive ability scarcely less essential to success. He was a wise and prudent legislator, as well as an upright magistrate. His studies and his experience at home had made him familiar with the laws of England and with the principles of equity on which all laws should be founded; and both in act and speech he showed the fruits of this previous education. The laws which were enacted while he was our foremost man, and the decisions which he pronounced, were based on much sounder principles, and are far less obnoxious to criticism, than those which are met with at a later period, and in some of the other Colonies. The policy which he advocated was in its main features broad, liberal, and judicious. Never yielding to popular clamor, and always accustomed to habits of rigid self-examination, he was at once firm and modest in the discharge of his public duties.

In his business habits he was orderly and methodical, though much of his private fortune was lost through the dishonesty of his bailiff in England, and the want of care on his own part. His "History of New-England" affords many striking proofs of the systematic manner in which he was accustomed to execute any undertaking to which he gave his personal attention, and of his sleepless devotion to the public interest. As a writer he was uniformly clear and concise; and the few fragments of his oratory which have been preserved are scarcely less remarkable than his writings for their directness and their

freedom from exaggeration. They have much of that strong Scriptural phraseology which was in favor with his fellow-religionists; and though they are sometimes tinctured with the superstition of the age, a sterling common-sense is their most marked characteristic.

It was essential to the establishment of the Pilgrim commonwealth that the leader of the enterprise should possess such a character as we have endeavored to portray; and it is one of the crowning glories of English Independency, that, when the time came for the great emigration, such a man was ready to guide it to a triumphant success, — a man thoroughly informed with its spirit, and earnestly devoted to the prosecution of its work.

ART. VIII. — *The Election of Representatives Parliamentary and Municipal. A Treatise by* THOMAS HARE, ESQ. Third Edition. London: Longman. 1865.

THE constant and apparently irresistible tendency of modern society towards democracy, which is now witnessed throughout Christendom, has banished from the minds of even the most conservative Europeans all hope of successful resistance to the movement. The expectations which were excited by the secession of the Southern States on anti-democratic grounds have been rudely destroyed by the result of the war, and the course of events in Italy and Germany has naturally tended to strengthen the impression already widely diffused, that we are witnessing the last days even of constitutional monarchies, and that the next century will probably see the whole Western world ruled by a numerical majority, exercising its power either through the medium of one man or of an elected assembly. Some of the acutest political thinkers of the day are, accordingly, busily occupied in making preparations for the coming flood. Some, such as Mr. Robert Lowe, propose simply to dam up the torrent, making the barrier as strong as possible, and leave the rest to Providence. Others believe that, by a judicious arrangement